MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 7.—No. 6 | Administration and Editorial Address: P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif. | Los Angeles, Calif., June, 1939 | 1 (497) | Single Copy 5 Cents

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

At present the world seems deeply concerned with the problem of the so-called minorities. What is at the root of this, and how can it be solved?

The minorities which disturb or, better still, sessing ethnic languages, traditions and habits of their kinds. There are the ethnic minorities, human groups who have a common language, traditions and customs and who, through historical circumstances, were incorporated into the political systems of people possesing ethnic languages, traditions and habits of their own. Such minorities can be found in every country in the world; still their presence do not create problems of any importance.

Indeed, in Italy, under the regime of a constitutional monarchy there were Albanian, Greek, Celtic, French, Catalonian, Ladinian, Slavonian and German minorities living in harmony with the rest of the population. Again, not less than 47 per cent of the Soviet Union's population is comprised of various non-Russian groups: Ukranians in the West, Mongols in the East, Laplanders in the North, and so forth, and still the Russian government, so strict and tyrannical in other aspects, finds no difficulty in ruling so many ethnic groups. Moreover, Switzerland forms a confederation of German, French and Italian populations who for centuries have lived together in perfect harmony, each of them retaining its respective language and customs.

In reality, all modern countries, especially in Europe, are true mosaics of ethnic unities which for hundreds of years, have been distinct from one another and have kept, besides the common language they call national, their own dialect and customs. Surely enough, they don't always live peaceful together: the conflicts which arise among them are not caused by their different origin, language and customs, but are due to the rivalry of economic interests.

Still, we must add that in countries where the populations have gained a certain civilized development and have surmounted the primitive superstitions, fear and phobia of the tribes, they have learned to know and respect—if not love—those who not only differ in their languages, but comport themselves according to different habits. A peasant in the city of Paris feels himself a Frenchman—and a Breton as good as a Parisian. The Scotchmen as well as the Welsh in London feel themselves Britishers. In New York City, the civilized Italian neither feels himself inferior nor superior to the Norwegian, Indian, Chinese or African.

The respect of man for man, no matter his descent, is the first requirement of civilization. Thus, the most concrete sign of a return to the barbarism of the tribe is the repressions and persecutions of minorities by Fascism. In fact, in fascist and semi-fascist countries of central Europe, the myth of race superiority has been brought back to persecute minorities, not for committed offenses, but for their traditions, language and customs. The Jews, in particular, are being subject to extreme persecution. Poles and Czechs in Germany, Poles in Hungary, Slavonians and Germans in Italy, Ukranians in Rumania, Jews everywhere, are considered inferior and, as such, subjected to all kinds of arbitrary violence. Fanaticism and wild hatred of the tribe—which, under the beneficent influence of progress, seemed to have disappeared are slowly rising again to throw humanity back hundreds of years. In Italy, where the Jews speak only Italian and where anti-semitism has not been known for centuries, the government itself initiated an anti-semitic offensive in spite of the popular feeling opposed to it. In Catalonia, one of Franco's first decrees, when he had just entered Barcelona behind the Italian and German troops, was to prohibit the Catalonian language.

Besides the above mentioned minorities, there are the religious, political and philosophical ones. And it can be said that if the persecution of ethnic minorities is a sign of barbarism, the persecution of religious and political minorities is an indication of tyranny.

Reason and experience teach us that the multiplicity of religious and political convictions does not admit any solution other than that of complete freedom of thought and conscience. The theocracies of the past centuries have tried, through terror, censure and inquisitions, to compel man to worship one God according to the prescribed form of a single ritual and to respect the constituted order as emanating from the very divinity, with absolute discipline but all that was in vain. Man has defied rules, inquisitions, shackles and even anihilation to rebel against God, Church, Monarch and State. And when he achieved victory, he proclaimed his inviolable right to think for himself and to govern himself according to his interests and aspirations.

However, these repeated proclamations remain everywhere in a state of aspiration. The economic inequalities surviving all revolutionary periods, continue to divide humanity into classes.

Yes, there are minorities and minorities: there are those who think the distribution of wealth is unjust and see society divided into two groups: a minority of rich parasites and a majority of indigent toilers. And then there are those who would like to see a society where none would have the power to humiliate his fellow men. But jealous of their privileges, the wealthy have never relaxed their vigilance against truth and justice.

Nevertheless, we must admit that since the time when Giordano Bruno was hunted all over Europe by the inquisitorial fury and then burned alive at the stake because he had expressed a scientific truth now recognized as such by everyone, progress—in the sense of tolerance for opinions contrary to the ones in vogue—has been accomplished. In the intellectual centers of the most civilized countries of today, man is permitted to proclaim publicly the inevitability of the social revolution and the positive triumph of Anarchy.

Yet, in the matter of religion we know of more liberal tolerance and freedom. In the United States, for instance, there exist and are practiced all creeds which human fancy has been able to invent. Religious liberty might be called complete if the influence of the Churches upon the population would admit besides the right to believe in any God, the right to believe in none. Still, this variety of creeds does not create any difficulty for the political and economic institutions of the country. The bigots of various churches may now and then clash with each other, but the resulting harm does not provoke any serious consequence. Juridically, religious minorities are levelled with the majority. In some countries, this reciprocal tolerance, which is also a sign of civilization, exists alike among believers and non-believers; such tolerance has put an end to the ancient persecutions of heresy, persecutions which truly constituted and still constitute the only problem in view, but for which the religious minorities are not responsible as long as they remain upon their territory of faith.

In the name of different ideologies but with means and consequences equally barbarian, Fascism and Bolshevism have trampled upon the spirit of tolerance; they are waging a war of extermination against political and doctrinal minorities. Starting with the affirmation that the collectivity is everything and the individual nothing, Fascism and Bolshevism have succeeded, not only in subjugating the individual, but also the collectivity to the absolutism of the State. They made a subject out of the citizen and a herd out of the collectivity.

In confronting fascist and bolshevik dictatorships, we cannot in reality speak of a majority restraining a minority. Dictatorship is always exercised by a minority or by an individual surrounded by a more or less loyal clique. It is intolerant because of necessity of saving its own life. It does not tolerate freedom of thought, for it cannot be justified by reason. It does not tolerate political opposition for fear that any opposition might gain enough power to overthrow it. Dictatorship persecutes ethnic, religious, political and even academic minorities, not because they are inimical, but because dictatorship cannot tolerate the simultaneous existence of autonomous, original and independent manifestations on the part of individuals and collectivities. It must also be said that such manifestations by minorities can be repressed with little risk to the dictators since the repressions reaffirm the invincible superiority of the dictatorship and stimulate a uniform submission which is absolutely necessary to a State that must think, provide and set order for everybody. In a word, the persecutions of minorities are the means to attain the militarization and total enslavement of the majority.

The problem of the minorities has its roots in the ignorance, superstition and fanaticism upon which every tyranny is based. To create this problem, tyranny has to cancel—with violence and terror—all civil progress; it must throw man back to the instincts, superstitions and fear of primitive times. The acts of vandalism committed in the past twenty years, in the name of Fascism and Bolshevism, demonstrate that human civilization does not exclusively consist of discoveries and inventions brought about by science, and that the barbarism of the wild tribe, inquisition and fanaticism are perfectly adaptable to the epoch of the aeroplane, automobile and the radio.

The solution of the problem of minorities lies in the freedom of the individual. When the individual is considered and respected as a human being and his right to existence, to think and be happy is recognized, when he is free to speak his own language, to worship the God of his own choice, or no God at all if he so prefers, to express what he thinks to be just, to earn his living any way he sees fit and to give his contribution to the welfare and happiness of all without any other limitation than the respect of the freedom of others—only then will the problem of minorities have entirely disappeared.

Under such tolerance and freedom the diversities of language, customs, religion, political convictions and social ideas would be admitted as advantageous to the varieties of human nature and traditions and as the inexhaustible wealth of civilization.

Then, far from constituting reasons for alarm, humanity—free from the shackles of superstition and coercion—would find in this diversity the explanation of its own existence.

Such conditions are not Utopian. On the contrary, they are realities attainable by the same limited liberties wrested from the bourgeois democracy. The latter never incorporated freedom of thought with the necessity for political and economic liberties of the citizens; it retained the economic privileges derived from the monopoly of wealth; it used the State to curtail the rights of man. In so doing, it brought about the process which today has culminated in the fascist tyranny and the return of aberrations which are centuries old.

But man has had experience, and the steady progress attained is more than sufficient to justify the aspirations and fights which the pioneers of a future and higher civilization have gone through.

In conclusion, we say that the problem of minorities, so well expressed by Malatesta, is the problem of freedom: freedom which today, tomorrow and ever man must defend.

M. S.

A New "Comrade"

Not far from these "benignant" shores lies Cuba. Its inhabitants are at the mercy of the American Sugar interests which, with the aid of American bayonets and the bribery of Cuban traitors, control—through legal titles—the vast sugar resources of that country. The rulers of the Cubans are the chosen tools of the same controlling interests.

The history of Cuba is a bloody history of the martyrdom of scores and scores of men and women of the trade union, communist, socialist and anarchist movements. And one of the bloodiest upstarts of the Cuban traitors is the same "General" Batista who was recently feted and honored by the U. S. government's stooges of the sugar interests in Cuba.

It is none other than this bloody butcher—Batista—which the communist press has now embraced as a champion of "democracy and freedom"!

We leave it to the conscience of the fellow-comrades of the hordes of people who have been murdered, tortured and imprisoned at the behest of the traitor Batista to render their verdict on the action of the communist leadership.

TWO ANARCHISTS: Virgilia D'Andrea — Camillo Berneri

Aurora Alleva

Virgilia D'Andrea

We asked them for a life of toilsome earning,
They bade us bide their leisure for our bread;
We craved to speak, to tell of our woeful learning:
We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay
But one and all if they would dusk the day.

—WILLIAM MORRIS

It may appear unpleasant and hopeless for us to pause and meditate over the dead. Oftentimes, however, this pause and meditation serve to momentarily appease our troubled souls as we traverse the turbulent waters of life and as we look down upon the abyss of dark and dim realities. Moreover, a serene meditation over the life of a person who has contributed, in no small measure, to the great struggle for

the true emancipation and liberation of mankind from the binding shackless of tyranny and oppression may serve to reassure and reanimate those of us who are also a part of this great and noble struggle for human emancipation.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I pause to remember Virgilia D'Andrea. I say remember when in reality, those of us who knew her personally or through her works have never been able to forget her. Her name may be unknown to most of the English speaking elements of the radical movement, but she was a figure which cannot be replaced in the Italian anarchist movement. She rightfully and deservedly earned for herself the title of "Poetess of Anarchism."

Although she was only 43 years of age when death took her on May 11, 1933 she left behind her a noble record of two thirds of her life spent as a teacher. an educator, a propagandist—an anarchist.

Simple, modest, serene, loving and noble—this was the character that was Virgilia D'Andrea. As a young girl, she was loved and respected in the small Italian town—where she grew up—by the peasant folk whose very spirit she reflected and whose very emotions she loved and shared. She became known as the little school teacher of the poor children. She loved and understood her charges, for she understood too well the sufferings of the poor exploited peasants. She was more than a school teacher to her pupils; she was their guide, their inspiration; she was a mother to them. She dedicated her life and all her time to these children, for she knew that they were to become the hope of the future. And as she dedicated her life to the youngsters under her wing, so did she dedicate and give her life to the disinherited of the world. In her serene, peaceful, poetic manner she was always with the people, for hers was a great love for humanity. Like many other revolutionists, this fragile delicate woman was imprisoned for her beliefs. But even under those circumstances she did not forget that she had to send her voice of hope and protest to the world. So, we find that she wrote some of her best poems while she was jailed in her native Italy.

Alas, however, the advent of fascism in Italy brought a deep and unending pain to this woman. It meant that she had to leave the land and the people so near and dear to her. But it also meant that she would continue forever the work she had started. As long as there was a spark of life in her, she promised herself to let this spark push her on in the noble fight against oppression and tyranny. So, from 1922 until her death, she lived a tormented agonizing life of exile. She inwardly suffered great pain as she thought of the tortures and sufferings endured by the people of that sunny land known as Italy, a land made black and dismal by the vandalism and tyranny of a fanatic maniac. Never did she dare dream that fascism would hold sway for so long a time. In fact, her one thought was to return soon to Italy, for she was sure that the people would rebel en masse; she thought that before long her place would be in Italy —side by side with the people in the Social Revolution. But she did not live to see this. Rather, she did not live to see the prolonged and more barbaric extension of fascism over Europe.

The last few years of Virgilia D'Andrea's life were spent in this country. And it is here that so many of us learned to know and love her. Her constant illness and her tormented life as an exile forced her to lead a life of comparative silence in this country. This not withstanding, she wrote and lectured. Her last book appeared on the day before her death. She was happy to see it published, but she was also aware of the fact that she would not be able to read it. In fact, these were some of her final words, for she knew that the end was near.

Throughout her writings she was prolific; she was the poet. She wrote with a clarity and sincerity that was gripping. Always we find in her works the note of brightness and hope—even when her explanations of realities bring tears to the eyes.

And as she spoke, so she wrote. In her lectures, always attended by an eager audience, she offered the full enjoyment of a mystic sense of goodness emanating from the clearly resonant yet painful voice of the poet-lecturer. Hers was a gripping voice depicting life's brutalities caused by man; her word was the torch which swept the listeners in their emotions. Hers was the message of truth and justice; hers was the word of hope and understanding.

Virgilia D'Andrea was the rebel, the revolutionist in the most beautiful and vast sense of the words. She was an anarchist in her every conception of life; she was the portrayer of life's vivid realities.

Some may wonder why one who has been dead for six years is recalled at this time. My answer is that in these trying days when fascism has swept across Europe and is menacing to grip the rest of the world, it is inspiring to think that we have had in our ranks men and women who, like Virgilia D'Andrea, have fought against the very tyranny which fascism represents. Today when world fascism is imminent and all powerful, the memory of these men and women who have been in the vanguard of the struggle for the attainment of a society wherein man will be really free inspires us once again to soar over and against all obstacles. The teachings of these men and women are our possesion; they belong to the disinherited of the world. No amount of fascism can deny them to us.

Finally, it can be said that the spirit of Virgilia D'Andrea—like the spirit of so many others in the struggle for human emancipation— can never die. It is part of humanity, and as such it will live on forever. So, while speaking of one who died, we are reaffirming a spirit that is constantly alive—the spirit of revolt, the very spirit of life. Virgilia D'Andrea was preceded by a host of other men and women who have, at some time or other, contributed their share in the struggle for Social Revolution. And she left behind her a great family which is ready to carry on in the work she left unfinished. And it is this great family—which loves and respects the spirit that was Virgilia D'Andrea—which is thinking of her today. It is this great family of disinherited to whom she dedicated her life and her work, which thinks of her as a living and vital force surging within our very souls. We think of her as a strong and binding link in that massive and never ending chain representing human bonds and human progress. We listen to her through the written words and poetry she has bestowed to us. These words become a ray of hope shining brightly and penetrating through the blackest of spots. And as we listen to her and remember her we can only say that she was a truly great woman. We admired and loved her as a poet, a teacher—an anarchist.

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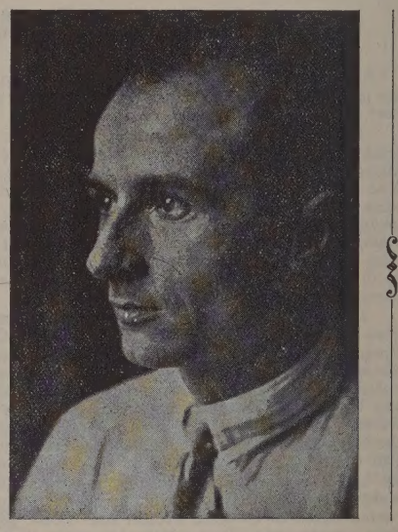
Camillo Berneri



On May 5, Camillo Berneri, apostle of anarchism and a militant in the Social Revolution in Spain, was cold bloodedly murdered in Barcelona by the assassins of the Moscow regime.

Camillo Berneri was one of the many victims of the marxian counter-revolutionists in the Spanish struggle. His body was found on one of the streets of Barcelona during the tragic May days in that city. His belongings and writings were confiscated; he was summoned by the bolsheviks during those unforgettable days of uprising brought about by the marxists themselves—only to be brutally assassinated by them. Berneri was killed by the marxists because they saw in him a true defender of the cause of the Spanish people, because they knew that Berneri had dared to attack their counter-revolutionary measures and tactics.

On the second anniversary of the death of Berneri, let us remember that the agents of Stalin in

(Continued on page three)

We must enlighten the minds. Ours must be a work of propaganda and persuasion in order to form the consciences of tomorrow. This is true.

However, if in the face of an oppression which takes our breath away; if at a time when the number of our unavenged dead increases ever more, and their biting silence gives us neither rest nor peace; if the anguish of a comrade turns into an act of revolt, we must realize a great and solemn duty—the duty to be near this valiant youth, to open our arms widely, so that in the midst of slanders, calumnies and curses he might find a little comfort in the affection of his own comrades.

I have seen my best comrades fall, pierced in the struggle; I have seen my good comrades thrown into the most horrible prisons; I have seen my dearest comrades wandering in countries whose people and whose language they did not know I have seen them alone and often without a penny, alone and often without a morsel of bread!

When a rebel unexpectedly arises from our midst and through whatever deed tears down a little of this old edifice to which we are chained, I take his hands and say to him: Courage, long live anarchy!

Virgilia D'ANDREA

(From "Torches in the Night").

This page should have appeared in the May issue of MAN! It was omitted because of the space taken by the article on Bakunin. We feel that its timeliness is not lessened by the delay.

I believe that the problem you should try and solve is the following: Do you defend the revolution best, and do you give your greatest contribution to the anti-fascist struggle by participating in the government or by bringing the flame of your magnificent oratory among the fighters at the front and among the workers in the rear guard?

It is time to clarify the unitarian significance of our participation in the government. It is necessary to speak to the masses and ask them if the Communists are right when they praise the "leaders" for their unitarian policy, or when they slander the Spanish anarchists who "sabotage unity." The masses must be called upon to judge the moral and political complicity of the silence of the Spanish anarchist press on the dictatorial crimes of Stalin; to judge whether certain maneuvers of sabotage come within the plan announced by the "Pravda" of December 17, 1936, to wit: "A purge of Trotskyites and anarcho-syndicalists has begun in Catalonia, and it will be conducted with the same energy employed in those of the U. S. S. R.".

It is time to learn whether the anarchists participate in the government to act as the Vestal Virgins to a dying flame or to give a revolutionary tinge to the politicians who are conniving with the enemy and with those forces working for the restoration of the "republic of all classes."

The dilemma—war or revolution—no longer makes sense. The only dilemma today is victory over Franco, through revolutionary war, or defeat.

Camillo BERNERI

(From an Open Letter to Federica Montseny, April 14, 1937.)

SHOULD DEMOCRACY BE DEFENDED?

B. E. Resin

The world is now divided in two different camps —democratic and fascist. Under the democratic banner are united, without exception, all progressive elements: socialists, communists, and even a certain group of anarchists. All are captivated by one hysterical outcry: we must defend democracy against fascism!

As can be seen, we are now faced with the proposition of a "united front"; not the united front usually proposed by the communists, that is, to be united under their influence. But the slogan—that we are to defend democracy—prevails even though each particular class or party is to wage its defensive struggle on its own ground and with its own methods.

If a war had broken out, since it almost became imminent, it would have been a war between democracy and fascism. The abnormal condition now is that the bourgeois elements and capitalist governments are embracing the slogan "democracy against fascism."

How is this possible? Is the slogan "democracy against fascism" in harmony with the theory of socialism? Does it express the aims of and possibilities for a radical and fundamental change in our social structure? Does it lead us in the direction of abolishing capitalism and bringing in socialism?

When we speak of democracy and fascism, we are not alluding to abstract ideas but to existing facts. The democratic and fascist countries, as they appear before us today, leave no doubt but that there is a wide distinction between the two forms of governments. Fascism signifies despotism, dictatorship, the abolition of civil liberties.

Yet, in referring to the two forms of rulership, the economic side with which each of the two political ideologies is united is not taken into consideration. For, as is commonly known, each social order rests upon two definite foundations: economic and political.

Let us see: What is the economic system in a democratic regime? Capitalism. And what system exists under fascism? Capitalism. True, there is a certain differentiation between the capitalism prevailing in a democratic regime and that under fascism. But this differentiation exists only in form, not in essence or principle.

In the same way, democratic-fascist capitalism is combined principally with private ownership, production for profiteering and class distinction.

The very compromise which the English and French governments have accorded Hitler at the expense of Czechoslovakia clearly proves that notwithstanding the fact that there exists a certain antagonism between democratic and fascist capitalism, they do have a certain mutual interest when the defense and maintenance of capitalism is at stake. The "democrats," Chamberlain and Daladier, have betrayed Czechoslovakia and approved Hitler but not because they are so humane that they wished to prevent millions of people from perishing in a war of blood and sword. No! What they feared most was that a world war would become a dangerous threat to international capitalism. If war is inevitable, it will be necessary for the "democratic" regimes to go hand in hand with Hitler and Mussolini against any and all radical groupings and, mainly, against their own subjugated masses.

Democratic capitalism indeed knows that in the event of a really dangerous menace there is but one outlet: fascism. Still, so long as democratic capitalism feels itself to be strong and powerful, it does not aspire to have fascism in its regime: moreover, it even displays a certain amount of opposition to it.

As can be seen, the struggle between fascism and democracy is nothing more than a competitive fight between two different capitalist groups. It is a sruggle for power and domination. The question then arises: How is it that socialists and even a certain number of anarchists, whose avowed aim is the negation of capitalism should join in the chorus "we must defend democracy"? How does it happen that people, whose aim is to overthrow capitalism, should defend one form of capitalism against another, protect the interest of one capitalist clique against the interest of another?

They tell us that under democratic capitalism the living conditions for the large masses of workers are better and by far more tolerable than under a fascist regime. Assuming this to be so, this statement certainly must evoke a great difference of opinion. Laying aside the fanatic anti-Semitic purges, which are characteristic of fascist ideology, we envisage this situation: It is true that democratic capitalism offers more political freedom. But, on the other hand, fascist capitalism provides more economic security. The fact is that Fascism has abolished unemployment, has decreed certain working insurances, has limited and curtailed the profit-greedy capitalism.

We are also told that the elimination of unemployment in Fascist countries is a transitory condition because all unemployed are occupied in the production of war material. And as soon as the ammunition industry is completed, there will again appear an army of unemployed. Such prediction seems to be without foundation. It is more likely that when work will cease in the ammunition industry, the Fascist government will employ their workers in other branches of work because the fascist government apparatus assumes a certain control over industry and is, therefore, capable of regulating it. The democratic state (government) does not own such monopoly. In this fact lies the very distinction between the two forms of government.

The democratic countries offer, as can be seen, more political freedom, the fascist—more economic security. Both of these are given on the sharp edge of a knife, and that knife can at any time be plunged into the back of the working class. In addition to that we know that political freedom without economic security, just as economic security without political freedom, is of very insignificant value. In both instances capitalist enslavement of the laboring masses is implied and carried out.

Considering for a moment that democratic capitalism offers better and more humane living conditions, it could then be defended only from a reform standpoint. Only those people should come to the aid of democratic capitalism who strive to reform, patch-up and mollycoddle capitalism. But how could those people who strive to abolish capitalism, defend and protect it?

To this they offer such apology: Democratic capitalism provides a certain background upon which socialistic ideas can be developed. But is it really so? The fact is very obvious that fascism, in the height of power today, has terminated and developed from the internal roots of democratic capitalism. When Italian and German capitalism sensed that, as a result of the World War, they were menaced by imminent collapse, fascism appeared on the scene and rescued them. Fascism, we must remember, is not merely an accident. It has been potentially hidden in the very structure of capitalism. When circumstances demand, fascism emerges on the surface because fascism is capitalism's own asset.

That American, English or French democratic capitalism hasn't as yet developed into fascism is not a result of its being anti-fascist. It simply is a result of the fact that democratic capitalism in the afore mentioned countries feels strong enough and is not yet in urgent need of fascism. If and when there is noted a marked change or transformation in democratic capitalism, such a change does not lean towards socialism. On the contrary, it is in the direction of fascist capitalism.

No one can deny that the main tendency of all democratic countries is to introduce—under the guise of democracy—a vaster government control over industry, more regulations, more meddling in the economic and social life of the inhabitants. These, as already pointed out, are the chief characteristics of fascism. And so, if we should relieve ourselves of the bewitching allurement of rethorical phraseology and delve deeply into the economic-political process, which displays itself before our very eyes in all capitalist countries, we could then clearly see that private capitalism heads in the direction of monopoly and imperialism. The internal contradictions in capitalism, leading to industrial panics, unemployment, overproduction, class struggle and competitive disputes among capitalist factions themselves—all this leads inevitably towards fascism.

In some countries fascism makes its appearance earlier; in other countries, later. In some countries fascism is inducted by peaceful method, even by legal decree; in others by force and brutality. Its character and methods, its standard-bearers and prophets may differ, but in the last analysis fascism is the rightful heir, the legal child of private capitalism.

Therefore: Socialists, Anarchists and all those who strive for the abolition of capitalism, should not march under the slogan "Democracy against Fascism" but only under the banner "Socialism against Capitalism."

Camillo Berneri

(Continued from page two)

Spain did not fight for the cause of freedom and of Social Revolution. As cruel and relentless counter-revolutionists, they fought against the very struggle for which the people of Spain so freely and so valiantly shed their blood.

Let us remember that Berneri, an example of the very essence of anarchism, was one of the many anarchists who, uncompromising to the end, knew how to show the world what it means to be an anarchist. Through his writings he was a capable expounder of the anarchist philosophy; through his deeds he receives the admiration and esteem of his comrades and fellow fighters.

To Berneri, therefore, we are grateful—grateful for having been in the rank of militant fighters for the cause of freedom, grateful for having left us, through his writings the words of a clear thinker, the words of a student of social problems, the words of an anarchist propagandist and teacher.

In the name of Berneri and the many other numerous victims of bolshevik treachery, let us point at the rulers of Moscow and their agents as the betrayers of the Spanish struggle, as the abetters of bourgeois rulership, as the betrayers of the very cause of freedom, as clear and outright assassins.

In the name of Berneri, too, let us say now and always:

Remember! Long Live Anarchy! Onward always toward the Social Revolution.

This Funny World.....

Figures on Social Progress: The growth of the assets of 200 largest non-financial corporations from 1909 to 1937, according to recent estimates of the U. S. Treasury Department, are as follows:

1909	$26,063,000,000
1919	$43,718,000,000
1929	$81,074,000,000
1937	$122,000,000,000

These corporations control more than half of the corporate wealth of the United States.

Military preparations are costing Europe almost $20,000,000 a day, the staggering total of $7,000,000,000 a year —according to J. A. Morris, United Press Foreign Editor.

The Roosevelt administration began its military budgets in 1933 with the sum of $642,906,420. It rose year by year until its average up to and including the year of 1940—brought it up to pass the billion mark. (The budget for 1934 being $1,391,557,900.)

In the last world war "to make the world safe for democracy", Senate Document No. 248 and 259 of 1918 reveals some interesting figures as to whose interests our boys got killed and wounded for. 185 Coal Companies made profits ranging from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. The Meat Packers raked profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent. The Canning Companies took 2,032 per cent. The Woolen Mills, 1,770 per cent. The Clothing and Dry Goods Stores, 9,826 per cent. The Furniture Manufacturers, 3,295 per cent. The Flour Mills, 2,628 per cent. And so it went all along the line in every industry.

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Unsocial Notes: "Save for 40,000 Negroes who live in appalling poverty, life in Norfolk, Va., is pleasantly free of extremes."—Louis Jaffe in the Washington Post.

Sailing home in a $1,500 elaborate suite the two Russian fliers Gen. V. K. Kokkinaki and Maj. M. K: Gordienko were given a farewell party attended by thirty Russian girls and six men of the Amtorg Trading Corporation.

* * *

Crime and Government Officials: Supreme Court Justice Edgar J. L. Lauer of New York resigned on the eve of possible impeachment proceedings against him for complicity in the smuggling charges that resulted in his wife being sentenced to imprisonment.

A Grand Jury has returned indictments against 13 officials of the Democratic Earle administration of Pennsylvannia. Among these are David Lawrence, former secretary to the Governor, Ralph M. Bashore, former Secretary of Labor and Industry and Roy E. Brownmiller, Secretary of Highways.

* * *

Invisibility and Religion: When Justice Sir Charles Alan Bennet asked counsel for Rev. Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman (who went to court to claim a 650 pound legacy) whether anything happened when one joined Dr. Buchman's Oxford Group, he replied: "No, I think it is as invisible as joining the Church of England." The legacy was ruled invalid.

* * *

Not as Queer as it Seems: An Associated Press Dispatch of April 27 relates that "reading tastes at Alcatraz Prison run to music, home gardening and 'highbrow' magazines. Detectives and crime fiction are strangely absent."

Tom Girdler, famous anti-labor magnate thinks that "the best man" suited for the Presidency of the United States is none other than Charles M. Schwab. (If materiailized, it would certainly simplify the task of those who point at State as being but the subservient tool of the master class.)

* * *

Spilling the Beans: "It might not be a bad idea to imitate one thing in the totalitarian states and to force every youth to give six months or a year of his life to the state, either in labor service or military service or both."—Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce.

No government, whatever may be its form, can be maintained without force to back it up against opposition from within or aggresion from without." — Rear Admiral Clark H. Woddward.

* * *

Consistency: The N. Y. Daily Mirror of April 14th came forward with some startling charges: "Our State Department had known... that Sir Auckland Gedes, former British ambassador to Washington and head of the Rio Tinto mines in Spain, had been subsidizing Franco. ... British banks were loaning money outright to Germany to finance rearmament.... Prime Minister Chamberlain, himself, is heavily interested in German rearmament, his imperial chemical industries owning a good block of stock in the Dynamite Action Society and in the I. G. Color industries."

"Shanghai, March 29.—The Italian steamship Romolo reported on her arrival at Shanghai today that pirates had raided her at the mouth of the Yanktze River."—Associated Press.

Japan was the leading purchaser of this country's iron, steel products and scrap iron.

Soviet Russia's new 2895-ton destroyer Tashkend was delivered formally at Odessa today. It was built in Italy.

Bert HILLSIDE

ON LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM

Melchior Seele

In a preceding issue of MAN! (April, 1939) I tried to show—in response to the Manifesto issued by the Libertarian-Socialist League and published in this journal in December, 1938—why I deem the changing of the name of Anarchism to that of Libertarian-Socialism improper, inadvisable and an act of cowardice.

Before going further with my exposition, I might repeat that the Manifesto was the result of a Conference of some fifty-odd men and women assembled at Mohegan Colony, N. Y., from September 5 to September 12 of last year. The conferees, some of them known as anarchists up to the time of the Conference, became the founders of the Libertarian-Socialist League.

Considering further the Manifesto, I now ask myself the following questions: Are the self-styled Libertarian-Socialists, who—until last September—considered themselves anarchists, still anarchists at heart? Did they choose to change their name for no reasons better known to them? Or are they socialists who made the mistake of calling themselves anarchists?

To answer these questions means to carefully examine the eight point program set forth in the Manifesto of the Libertarian-Socialist League.

Point 1 of the Manifesto says: "Contrary to general understanding, we believe in organization and define that term as follows: In a free society, various forms of association will be entered into at the inclination and according to the understanding of the individuals concerned. For the present we advocate and practice the forming of small local groups to deal with such problems as are purely local on an autonomous basis; these groups do and will continue to federate with each other to better spread their ideas and make for more effective propaganda." This point is really the basis of the Libertarian-Socialists' conception of society and is revealing through what it says and what it leaves unsaid.

To begin with, it is a confusion in terms—a trick used by all authoritarians in order to justify their theories. All socialists have played and—for a time—prospered upon this confusion. Organization is not synonymous with association. Organization is certainly the opposite of free association. In its liberal sense, organization derives from organ i. e., instrument, implement, engine. It means "the disposition or arrangement of the organs for the performance of certain functions." Organs are objects, things—not persons, nor men or women. Therefore, organization, in its literal sense, means the act, process or fact of arranging things—not persons—into the proper working order. This literal sense of the term organization once established, it is obvious that men and women cannot be organized unless they are considered as things. In practice the term organization is also applied to human beings. The State, the Party, the Church, the Union are organizations wherein each individual unit occupies a set place and function, upon the determination of which he or she has had no more choice than has a cog in the wheel, a tree in the garden or a sheep in the flock and from this place or function he or she cannot freely move without incurring the risk of more or less severe punishment. All this comes down from ancient times when man did not conceive himself as a member of a race of equally endowed individuals, but rather as a superior being entitled to the privilege of domination by the right of his personal superiority in brawn or brains. Then the strong subdued the weak, just as he had learned to make use of all inanimate and animate things which the Earth offered to his enterprising ability. Then the victor imposed his will upon the vanquished and looked upon them as inferior, not much above the status of his chattel. Sometimes he killed them; sometimes he just ate them; more often he organized them to suit his own purposes. According to the philosophy of his stage of mental development, he felt perfectly justified in organizing them to till his soil for him, to row his galleys, to fight his wars, to reproduce his labor and fighting reserves. Slaves were not men in the modern sense of the word; they were sub-humans, things to be disposed of at their owner's will. As such, they were subject to organization in the same way that cows or sheep or arrows and bows were. Times have changed. New philosophies, which we claim to be more humane and civilized have taken the place of old ones. Slavery has been abolished, in name at least. Men are now considered equals, all endowed by nature with the same fundamental traits and inherent rights. It is true that there still exist men who consider themselves entitled—by heredity, intellectual superiority or by election of their peers—to the mission of organizing other men according to their particular notions. But anarchists are not of their number. The State still exists—an impersonal power enveloped in the misty cloudiness of the ancient philosophies (which Anarchists call superstitions) and exercised by a selected few—in whose name men are organized as implements of war and women as engines of procreation. A domineering class still exists—a more or less loose conglomeration of monopolists who according to the rules of profit, organize men and women as instruments of production. Churches, parties, unions and compulsory regimentations of all kinds still exist. Under various pretexts they all organize men and women for the purpose of retarding as long as possible the full blossoming of their individual humanity and, above all, as purveyors of victuals for the benefit of a complicated variety of self-selected super-men and women who do not like to work. All of this goes to show that the term organization does not lose its literal sense when applied, as it is in practice, to human beings. Organization of men and women is a survival of slavery, and slavery is the primeval form of authority of man over man. To admit organization of men as a social necessity implies that equality among human beings is unattainable. In fact, each organization assumes at least two categories of human beings: those who organize, i. e., those who dispose and arrange and those who are organized, i. e.: those who are disposed of or arranged for a certain purpose. Now, do not try to tell me that human beings, instead of being organized can organize themselves. This is not so. The first act accomplished by those who are led to believe that they organize themselves is specifically the conferring upon a selected few the power to organize them, by naming them to the privileged positions of command and "responsibility." In my opinion, it is bad enough that anarchists should submit to being organized and disposed of at the behest of the organizers. In some cases they just cannot help it; the organizing processes of the State, for instance, cannot be evaded except through death. But I cannot imagine anarchists who, of their own free will, submit to organization or strive to impose themselves as organizers of other human beings. Only authoritarians can advocate the organization of men and women, for they admit as a fundamental principle of their political theories that men are not and never can be equal, that some are entitled to rule over others.

By professing their belief in organization, the Libertarian-Socialists of Mohegan Colony prove that they have more than changed in name. They have really adopted a philosophy which is repugnant to anarchism. In a free society, such as anarchism advocates, only things are organized—not men and women. Men and women, equals in right as well as in fact, will unite their efforts for any purpose they freely choose, for all purposes in which they may have any interest, according to their taste and will; this they will do not only for local problems but for any problem whatever.

Point 2 concerns war. The Libertarian-Socialists are opposed to war and to conscription in any case. There is nothing peculiarly anarchistic in this attitude although they rightly claim that "Revolution as such is not war."

Point 3 contemplates "Libertarian Schools for children" to enable children "to grow and develop in a state of freedom." It is quite hard to imagine the possibility of rearing and educating children in "a state of freedom" within an environment which is not free. But the effort is commendable and the attempt will be worth while. If it should produce nothing save a system of education more civilized than those which prevail to-day, or a more extensive love for liberty, it would certainly be amply compensated.

Point 4 registers the Libertarian-Socialists' belief that "Syndicalism is one of the avenues of approach to a free society." By Syndicalism they mean trade-unionism in a purified form. They foresee "a society wherein the modern trade union, now purely an organization for defense, will be transformed into an agency for production and distribution upon federal lines."

Well, Syndicalism—or purified Trade-Unionism—means all things to all kinds of people. So much hope and verbiage have been attached to it that no one dares be against it. But while logical reasoning and recent experience show that the Trade-Unionism can be employed with great profit by the powers that be—both Totalitarian and Democratic—to consolidate their hold upon the laboring masses, no instance is recorded of its having proved to be "one of the avenues of approach of a free society." All over the world—in Russia as well as in Germany and Italy, in France as well as in England, in the United States—Labor Unions have succeeded only in effectively regimenting the working people and lead them into submission to the ruling powers. The great expectations which Syndicalism had raised in Spain have become disappointments, not because of the sad results of the Spanish war, but because of its own failure—at the critical moment—to follow the path of freedom, in spite of its unlimited resources in human valor and of the libertarian aims of its following.

Now, what is Syndicalism? What are its basis and function? Obviously, the Labor Union (Syndicate) is a product of the capitalist System. To be more exact, it is based upon the wage relationship between Capital and Labor. If this relationship between those who own a private, public or semi-public monopoly on Capital and those who have labor to sell did not exist, Labor unions could not possibly exist. This means that whenever we shall have attained a system of economy wherein all monopolies of Capital have disappeared, there will remain no basis for the Syndicate or Labor Union. This is the aim of anarchism. It seems logical enough that workers will not have any need to combine against capitalism, if capitalism does not exist in any form, and if Capital itself—as well as all other forms of wealth—has been put to the free disposal of all for production and for use. Therefore, it stands to reason that the Labor Union belongs to the present system of economy and the preaching of its survival in a new economic order implies to say the least, that in such an order the wage relationship between Capital and Labor will survive also—as it certainly does in the Socialist system of economics. The function of the Labor Union in the present capitalist system is to settle the ever recurring conflict of interests between Capital and Labor: to fix wages, hours and working conditions. This means that it is the Labor Union's main task to find, at all times in the ever changing scene of industrial developments and social needs, a working compromise between the contrasting interests of Capital and Labor so as to enable the capitalist regime to endure. It seems hard to believe that an institution whose paramount mission is to make it possible for the capitalist system to endure can be looked upon by reasonable people as "one of the avenues of approach to a free society." As to the eventual transformation of the Labor Union or Syndicate from the purely defensive organization of to-day to an agency for production and distribution within the new social order, this is neither possible nor desirable. As an institution of the capitalist regime, the Labor Union is authoritarian, centralized. It cannot be otherwise because its membership believes in authority and because its leadership has a paramount interest in fostering and even imposing such a belief upon its membership. Furthermore, the Labor Union is more than an economic institution. It is also a political institution akin to all other parties of reform, and since the Anarchists have for a very long time renounced the hope of ever transforming such parties into revolutionary or libertarian associations, there is no reason why they should delude themselves about the Labor Union. And, last but not least, should they choose to persist in such a delusion, they would doom their attempts to certain failure. Tradition is the most rooted enemy of freedom, and the most deep-rooted tradition of Syndicalism is authoritarian.

Here, again, our Libertarian-Socialists tread upon the Authoritarian-Socialists' path. To them, as to all other totalitarian politicians, the Labor Union is an instrument for attaining their only aim—the conquest of power.

Point 5 states the Libertarian-Socialists' symphaty for and whole-hearted support of Consumers' Cooperatives although "most members of consumers' organizations today are without a real understanding of the principle. . . . of voluntary cooperation." Consumers' Cooperatives, more than Labor Unions, are institutions of the Capitalist regime. There is nothing dangerous in supporting them as an example of voluntary cooperation. But there is very little to gain, and it is a waste of time which might be more usefully employed in other fields. Cooperative distribution may save something for those who participate in it, but it does not affect capitalism as a system. As a matter of fact, by diminishing the cost of distribution, it may even help give the capitalist system a new lease on life.

Point 6 concerns cooperation with other radicals in certain instances. It has always been a rule for anarchists and self-respecting radicals of all denominations to recognize a common solidarity of attitude toward oppression. The Bolsheviks have had a nefarious influence on this attitude. But since it is clear that Bolsheviks are radicals in reverse, we all should strive to react to and resist such influence.

Point 7 concerns the land problem. The Libertarian-Socialists approve two solutions of the land problem: "Occupation and Use as the only title to land justifies itself—no man should "own" land unless he is using it, and using it in such a way as to justify his claim": and: "the Syndicalist form of ownership," which means nothing more or less than that individuals form themselves into a syndicate to work the land." Occupation and Use is accepted by many who do not pretend to be Libertarians, and no anarchist objects to it. It is, in reality, the fundametnal principle of a free society. The anarchist desires occupation and use, not only of the land, but also of all other means of production. In Spain, "occupation and use" of the land was adopted by farmers—after the July revolution—not only where the individual occupied and used it, but also where several individuals occupied and used it collectively. In the latter instance, they did not call it a Syndicate; they called themselves a "collective." The Syndicate—i. e., the Labor Union—had no ownership over the land of the "collective." Instead it assumed for itself the ownership and the direction of the industrial establishments in towns and cities. Reports seem to agree that while the rural workers had realized a real form of free cooperation in production and distribution through their collectives, the Syndicate's management of industries was authoritarian, centralized and, of course, controlled by the State—of which, naturally enough, the Syndicate was a part. It will be remembered that as far back as 1933, some Spanish Syndicalists claimed "all power for the Syndicate" and that the platform voted by the C. N. T. Congress of Saragossa, in May 1936, contemplated the joint exercise of the governmental functions by the Socialist and Libertarian

THE INNOCENT ABROAD

Betty Morrison

The Fair and a Texas Solon

My head groggy from the noisy ballyhoo at the Fair, I turn to the radio for relief just at the moment when Representative Martin Dies is making an impassioned patriotic appeal as a diversion, perhaps from his labors of ferreting out subversive activities in this neck of the woods. His reputation as a legislative crusader against political heresies having gone far afield I was naturally interested to hear this modern Paul Revere gloat over our accomplishments and stress the moral purpose and intent in dealing with ourselves and the rest of the world.

A Frank Admission

I declare from the outset, Rep. Dies has nothing on me. I swear on a stack of dime novels that by reason of priority I feel eminently qualified to speak for America, appraise its true worth and sniker over its queer antics. I have the distinction of having forebears who came over steerage on the "Mayflower." They would have landed on this continent a couple of centuries earlier had not Lief Ericson, the Viking, been rather squeamish in his choice of fellow travelers Upon arrival, fearing contamination of mongrel blood, my ancestors had their racial arteries tapped by the alchemists of that period. The analysis revealed a mingling of Scotch, Irish, Latin, Norse, Mongol, Israelite and Ethiopian traces with a dash of ichor of Satan himself poured in for good measure. In short, the findings gave 100% Aryan stock—and no Darwin monkey business about it!

Let's Get Acquainted

Now, after introducing my founding fathers in their true light and racial classification—and not found wanting—I cherish the hope my geneological tree has not been marred by a breach of Puritan marriage vows.

Events of deep significance to the cultural development of the early settlers followed in rapid sequence . . . The biblical precept, "Thou shall not Kill," had a salutary effect on their moral behavior—on Sunday. On week days the extermination of heathen Indians became the major theme of business and pleasure. In their spare time they enacted Blue Laws, fettered violators in stocks, practiced witchcraft, and as further evidence of the infallibility of ignorance, burned a few of its practitioners when they failed to deliver the goods.

But the crowning glory of the career was achieved when they got their posterior riddled with buckshot by the redcoats who caught them red-handed reading the Magna Charta upside down. My ancestors retaliated by raiding tea-laden vessels, smuggling, and when King George threatened to spank them, they forthwith told him to jump into the English Channel.

The Spirit of '76

Then the Declaration of Independence was signed, followed by the passing of the Bill of Rights and Wrongs. All went well until the enterprising editor of the "Philadelphia Gazette" with a characteristic nose for news and an eye glued on the cash box, printed that historical document on his front page, and, believe it or not, in the same issue, on page 4, appeared an ad inserted by the illustrious man who never told a lie, reading thusly:

"Will sell my young and able-bodied Negro slave Sam for $5. a jug of rum and a hogshead of tallow. Reason for sale: Sam has become impudent and unruly. George Washington."

Now, Mr. Dies, when I read "all men are born equal and have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and think of that ancient New Deal Sam got for taking its meaning literally, do you blame me for feeling my patriotic slipper slipping?

Then, I remember reading somewhere how we took the Southwestern States from Mexico after using every pretext for several years to goad her into a fight. And the Civil War, when the conflicting political and economical interests of the feudal South and the industrial and financial North caused Los Americanos to slit each other's vocal cords while the unscrupulous on both sides laid the foundation for political preferment, privilege and plunder. To say nothing of the Great War when we plunged into the European cauldron to save the bacon for Wall Street which had laid heavy stakes on the wrong stallion.

Mein Kampf for Liberty

Mr. Dies, I have never faltered in my devotion for America. Never! Not even when a burly pretorian guard of the republic outraged at my quoting Tom Jefferson when he says the tree of liberty needs much fertilizer, and tapped his baton rhythmically on my auburn locks, giving me a practical demonstration of my constitutional rights. I saw stars, felt the stripes and heard the tender strains of "My Counry 't'is of Thee." The crescendo of Wagner's "Gotter dammerung" paled into insignificance by comparison . . . .

Then, during my convalescence I wobbled democratically with Wilson, got hardening of the arteries with Harding, almost froze stiff under Coolidge, embraced the three graces—faith, hope and charity—with Hoover. And now, for the last 8 years I've been gobbling enough alphabetical soup that I feel as though I could give birth to an unabridged dictionary in every known language—including Sanskrit.

A Pertinent Question

But do tell me, Rep. Dies, what possesses you to rally forth, quixotic fashion, crusading against the windmills of your fervid imagination? Are you suffering from a Russia blood to the head? Can't you perceive the Kommissars of Kommunismus in the process of recanting, retracing and recoiling—in plain words—can't you see them backing up so fast that they have tread on Father Coughlin's mental corn and poached on his Fascist preserve? Let them sing the Lord's Prayer. Their Trojan horse is stricken with Spavin and is getting wobbly from too frequent bloodlettings.

It's a case of 57 varieties of quacks, who, unable to diagnose the world's ailments operate on each other to prove the soundness of the immaculate conception of history. Requiem, Karl Marx will recognize his own!

Besides, according to their 13 year plan, they've decided to postpone the rrrevolution until Attorney General Frank Murphy benignly grants them a permit.

My Grave Concern

But, aside from this excursion in the land of piffle and platitude, I am deeply concerned with the moral fiber of my compatriots, and accordingly have devised a positive and rational method which enables me to establish an ideal type whose mentality is the aggregate of common psychological characteristics. Their zoological clasification is not easily determined. They are neither fish, flesh nor fowl, terrestrial nor aquatic, mollusk nor vertebrate, flora nor fauna, solid nor liquid, carnivorous nor vegetarian, 16 to 1 nor 1 to 16, Whig nor Tory, evolutionist nor fundamentalist, orthodox nor reform, dessicated nor all wet. In short they are everything under the moon, and in their counterfeit blessings crow over the inalienable right of extracting sunshine from cucumbers. Yes, they are even allowed to speak freely—if they have nothing to say.

My Country Right or Wrong

Under the spell of patriotism we believe that we believe. It is a sentiment accepted without analysis, paraded without thought, displayed ostentatiously on all occasions like the clip on the shoulder of a drunkard, as a defiance, a challenge to battle, revealing itself in worships of institutions, major and minor individuals. It is a marvelous miracle worker. It can make each man's country the most desirable on earth, not only for its climate, soil, production, scenery, but also for its peculiarly just institutions and for the pleasing character of its inhabitants. Each country produces the greatest philosopher, the most distinguished literati, the bravest men, the most beautiful women—and the largest cabbages.

All this tends to impress his mind with a sense of power and stability and security. Whether the power is conducive to his happiness, whether the stability is a matter for rejoicing, whether the security is not against lesser and not against greater evils, he does not, alas concern himself. To him institutions are sacred because they are, but he believes they are because they are sacred.

Listen, Rep. Martin Dies

Economic panaceas and political nostrums cannot stem the tide of discontent engendered by grievious wrongs. Therefore, even at the risk of being accused of dipping my pen in tincture of wormwood, I am confirmed in the conviction that the Roosevelt administration is attempting to save the mansions for the rich and the hovels for the poor.

Your vision, Mr. Dies, impaired by adherence to notions of the dark and hoary past does not permit you to perceive the living, pulsating world around you—a world of thought, a world of change. In your blind resentment you attempt to smash the thermometer because it registers the torrid condition of the social atmosphere. In the alignment of the social jungle you have chosen to fawn before the holy trinity of profit, inequality and bondage.

A Freeman's World

As for myself, in the surge of life, I see men bending every effort to bring about a new and truly civilized society wherein every one by the very fact of being born can satisfy human needs—physical, social, cultural and intellectual—without crushing another man down.

Accordingly, I adhere to the tenet that if one is wrong, one cannot be too conservative. But if one is right, one cannot be too radical.

War and Government

When the war to end wars and to save the world for democracy ended, people became joyous over the thought that now they could live in peace and enjoy their newly found freedom.

Today, wars are raging in all parts of the world. Millions of men, women and children have been butchered by governments in wars of invasion or in suppressing the liberty of their own subjects.

We need not look for the reason.

Government was born when a people made war upon another people, seized their land, property and persons. In the dispensation of the conquered land, property and persons, an authority was created that assumed the role of government with the power of holding monopoly on all conquered territory and also that of the conquerors. Thus born in violence, governments are continually forced to wage wars of invasion in the quest for new territories in which to extend their monopolies. They also wage wars of suppression on their own subjects in order to crush the people's natural desire for liberty and to strengthen their own position as the self-appointed regulators of society.

Upon the payment of tributes to government, favored persons or groups of favored persons received titles to the land. These titles carried with them the right to develop the resources and to exploit the people thereon.

This developed into a system of society called capitalism. So, it can readily be seen that government and capitalism go hand in hand in the exploitation and oppression of the people of the world. It can also be seen that government is the mother of capitalism.

As the needs of society became more complex, the development of the resources, called industry, also became more complex. To meet these conditions, industry must acquire the resources of countries other than that in which the industry is located. Industry also find foreign markets for its products. Thus, capitalism becomes international in character and scope, and every breakdown of the system in any one country, be it however small, seriously threatens the whole structure of monopoly and exploitation in other countries.

The quest for more territory is motivated by several reasons (1) the need for more land with its resources, (2) the need to acquire more territory for the sale of its products and (3) to establish new trade routes or to protect trade routes that have already been established and, finally, (4) the need for constant diversion of the minds of the people from the real crux of their difficulties.

The acquisition of territory is gained by purchase, trade or seizure. Trade or purchase is rarely attempted. Seizure usually means war which serves the double purpose of seizing new territory and of distracting the minds of the people from their real conditions.

In the meantime, government takes steps to strengthen its own position. Posing as the saviour of the people against the common enemy, it abolishes opposition by the enactment of war measures, supposedly to protect the people, but in reality to safeguard the rulers, as anyone not agreeing with the policy of the government is murdered or thrown in prison.

At times the conquest is easy. Other governments, motivated by the same reasons, join the war in the hope of sharing the prize or adopt a policy of neutrality and furnish the strong nation with supplies of war which, in the name of peace, withholds them from the weaker.

Sometimes a neighboring country is too well armed to risk a war of invasion. So, in order to divert the minds of the people from the real robber, itself, the government singles out amongst its own subjects some religious or political minority for persecution and accusing it of being the cause of conditions which government itself has brought about. It then creates a wave of hysteria in which it takes the upper hand in killing, exiling or imprisoning the persecuted ones.

Thus, government entrenches itself more firmly and gets ready for the next war, a war in which more millions of men, women and children will be butchered.

The vicious process goes on and on, in an ever widening circle, and will continue to go on until man awakens the spirit of liberty that is inherent within him and decides to live the life of free men.

Monroe BARTLETT

Syndicates. According to the historical development of the Labor Syndicate, the conquest of power—both political and economical—is its natural aim. Anarchism certainly has nothing to do with it.

Point 8 says that, "the three best known schools of non-governmental socialists are Free Communism, Mutualism and Syndicalism." Frankly, it should be demonstrated that Syndicalism is a non-governmental school of socialism. Experience, practice and logic demonstrate exactly the contrary. Rather than a school it is an institution, an institution of monopolistic economics. It may serve the Socialists in their quest for power, but it certainly is neither libertarian nor non-governmental in methods or aims.

Significant is the fact that the Libertarian-Socialist League omits to register individualistic anarchism as a non-governmental school. The individual—man or woman—has a very small place in their program. They seem to consider humanity in flocks—organizations, groups, unions, cooperatives. They hardly mention the individual human being at all. The fact that the individual man or woman is the real basis of society does not seem to strike them. Like all other schools of socialism, they seem to conceive that the individual exists only to form groups, organizations, syndicates. Now, the basic notion of Anarchism is just the opposite. The individual human beings live in society for their own personal happiness. No society can be free and happy unless each and every one of its members is free and happy. To make possible a new social order wherein all men and women are free, happy and contented is the fundamental aim of Anarchism. Therefore, a program which sincerely plans to attain such an aim should assign a place of prime importance to the individual member of society.

This lack of consideration for the free men and women of the new social order—and within the minority which strives already for its realization—betrays the real frame of mind of the authors of the Libertarian-Socialist League's Manifesto. This, together with some parts of its positive program, amply shows, in my humble judgement, that they either have never been Anarchists at heart or have ceased to be.

They are basically Socialists who may not like the totalitarian school of orthodox socialism but who, nevertheless, do not believe that men will ever be able to live without some form of authority.

DOES LEGAL SYSTEM CORRUPT ADMINISTRATORS?

(A Letter from Robert Whitaker)

Los Gatos, California,
March 11, 1939.

My dear Marcus Graham:—

Thank you for sending me a copy of your magazine, issue of February 1939. So many periodicals come to my table that I had not noticed until just now that it was a marked copy, and that you had used herein a copy of the letter which I addressed to Judge Leon R. Yankwich some time ago, given publication at the time by UNITY, in Chicago. I am very glad if my letter is of any service to you, and to the fight for a more human administration of law which you represent. Also I was much pleased to read in the OPEN FORUM of Los Angeles, that the Court of Appeals had reversed the mistaken judgment of Judge Yankwich.

You may be interested to know that my concern in this contention between the Courts and the people dates back more than forty years. I was pastor of the First Baptist Church in Salem, Oregon for nearly three and a half years, 1890-1893. Salem is the seat of the State government of Oregon, as you may know, and also the site of the State Penitentiary and the State Insane Hospital. I took a lively interest in all these Institutions, serving without pay in an informal chaplaincy both in the State Legislature, and at the Penitentiary and the Asylum named above. The Governor of Oregon at that time was Sylvester Pennoyer, an exceptionally liberal Democrat, and the two men in charge of Penitentiary and Asylum were also of liberal type, so that I had unusual opportunity to know them well, and esteemed them all as personal friends. In consequence I was given rare freedom to know all these institutions, and to get a close view of the operations of State politics and legal procedures with respect to the so-called criminal and insane residents of Oregon.

Up to that time I had made no study of economics, nor did I go into economic theory until some years afterwards. My ministry, and my devotion to literature and history, outside of my homiletical and theological work, occupied my time and attention. But I conceived then, as I have done ever since, that my work as a minister had to do with the whole community, and with the whole range of human conduct and human need. I may add that in the much longer period in which I have carried on this ministry in California I have had closer experience with prison life, as I served through a period of more than three months, before the Supreme Court of California released me and reversed the unjust verdict against me, a jail term in the Lincoln Heights City Prison. Throughout all my ministry I have had, as a counter experience to the above, a frequent and often intimate experience with members of the legal profession. In many instances I have found them delightful personal friends, and men of individual probity within the areas of conventional morality, often men of high ideals in a general way.

Yet from the first experience in Salem to the later experiences in Los Angeles, in prison, and later in official connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, two convictions have been forced upon me. The first is the scandalous and calamitous degree to which criminal legalism prevails within the administration of the law. "The law is made for the lawyers," said one of these legal practitioners to me, years ago, when I protested against a particular experience on these lines. "The law is a racket," observed another lawyer, exceptionally successful, and himself a delightful and honorable man, outside of his profession, whose remark quoted above was made recently.

The second conviction to which I came through my familiarity with the Salem Penitentiary cases, first of all, and later through my observation of prison life in Los Angeles, is the corrupting character of our present penology upon those who are under sentence, particularly on the lower levels of offense, that is minor infractions of the law. This has been observed by many, and needs no extensive comment on my part.

That which does need emphasis is the corruption which our legal system works upon the administrators of it, lawyers, and judges, police and prison officials. On the whole this is, in my sober judgment, operative even to the highest ranks of the judiciary, and is inherent in the whole system whereby one man is set to deprive another man of his liberty, or even of his life, by judgments predicated by verbal formulas and technical precedents. I would not deny that the danger of such corruption inheres to some degree in the whole relationship of judge and criminal, officially conceived, or, to revert to a certain admonition in the sayings of Jesus, to all our judging of one another, so far as an air of superiority is assumed.

But leaving aside the larger ranges of moral relativity as between man and man, and coming back to our present judicial system in the United States, I am more and more impressed that what the system does to those who act as alleged defenders of the law, from the ordinary practitioner to the highest judicial functionary, is more damaging to society as a whole than the harm done to the definitely designated criminal classes. Any man who is conscious of the refinements of character-corruption which may work insiduously through highly respectable connections and conduct may well pray to be delivered from sitting in judgment upon his fellow men under our present litelaristic legalism. Or if he is exposed to such testings of his own judgment and moral balance he ought to be doubly on his guard lest he serve formalisms and images as against both his own highest welfare and the public good.

Deeply as I sympathize with you for the injustice which you have suffered and are suffering at the hands of the Courts, I feel that you are the sufferer intrinsically and eventually to a lesser degree than are those who sit in judgment upon you. Our judges, as a whole are victims of the very processes by which they judge others, and at their best are dimmed diamonds who have lost their lustre in the worm infested cubicles wherein they abide.

Cordially yours,

Robert WHITAKER

An International Struggle

Our struggle for the freedom of thought and its expression has become international. From France we receive the news that the realization of the urgent need to defend the free expression of man's revolutionary spirit against all forms of oppression—in any part of the world—has led to the formation of a French section of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. We take this opportunity of declaring our solidarity to the work which this French sub-committee is endeavoring to carry on. At the same time, we are more than appreciative of the cooperation which this committee is giving to the National Committee of the United States in its struggle to protest against the Roosevelt administration which has been carrying on a campaign of persecution against this journal and its editor.

The first work of the French Committee has been the publication of the outstanding parts of our pamphlet—"Freedom of Thought Arraigned"—in the pages of the anarchist journal "Terre Libre." This is to be followed by appeals which will be sent to leading liberal and radical publications of France, Belgium and Switzerland. The French Committee is endeavoring to enlist artists, writers, poets and independent thinkers as members of their section of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. The original French Committee is composed of the following persons: Marc Bernard, Andre Breton, Hem Day, Rene Lefeuvre, Regis Mesac, Henri Poulaile, Andre Prudhommeaux, Victor Serge, Charles Wolf and Maurice Wullens.

* * *

"Cultura Proletaria," the weekly Spanish publication of our Spanish speaking comrades in this country, is printing the pamphlet—"Freedom of Thought Arraigned"—in serial form. The same thing is being done by "Probuzhdenie," the periodical issued in Detroit by the Russian Workers' Cultural and Enlightening Groups of the United States and Canada.

At this time we wish to add that we are happy to see that our foreign language comrades are eager to aid us in carrying on this important and worthy struggle. Our hope is that the fight will be taken up by lovers of freedom throughout the world.

BOOK REVIEW

"THE CULTURE OF CITIES" By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York. $5.00. 1938.

Radical idealists have often been accused of weaving impractical dreams of the future Utopia without giving definite information of the obstacles to be overcome, and without tracing the first steps toward the new world. Lewis Mumford, in his previous book "Technics and Civilization," and now in his present volume has given a masterful presentation of the problem of housing, both in the details of the individual house and in the relation of the individual dwelling to the world at large. Mumford is not an "architect for architecture's sake." He knows something about the world we live in and makes it very plain that all of his dreams for a better coordinated society will come to naught, "if we cannot create a wall-less world our civilization will die . . . a regiment of eight year old children, learning the first formations of military drill, represents a lower stage of savagery than that of the most ferocious cannibals." He describes further the disorganization of our metropolitan centers by the bombing of water and gas mains, and predicts that if the destructive forces continue in control our cities will be "cold lairs given over to less destructive beasts than man."

Readers of MAN! will appreciate the emphasis which the author gives to Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops," and his "Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution." Mumford says of Kropotkin: "The work of a scientist who continues to grow in importance as a penetrating thinker . . . his anarchism communism, which is now indigenous only in Spain, may prove to be the necessary corrective of the sterile bureaucratization to which Marxism has so easily lent its doctrines, both in the Stalinist and Trotskyist forms." Speaking of the multiplicity of documents and red tape deemed necessary in our centralized society the author makes the somewhat amazing remark that, "No wonder the anarchists once invented the grim phrase: 'Icinerate the documents;' that would ruin this whole world quicker than universal flood and earthquake." The paragraph in which this quotation is given is a classic summary of the uselessness of our book-keeping economy. Mumford is not an anarchist, for in his regional plan of society he sees the value of the "service" rather than the political state.

Over one hundred and fifty illustrations taken from medieval times to the present give to the reader a clear idea of the contrasts emphasized by the author. He points out that the 17th century Dutch peasant lived in better circumstances and knew more about cooperating with his fellows than did the 19th century statesman or the present day voter. Kropotkin's analysis in his essay, "The State, Its Historic Role," giving the cause of the fall of the medieval free towns to be their selfishness in refusing to make common cause with the poor peasant against the nobles, and instead giving up their own freedom bit by bit until the peasants turned against them, is corroborated by Mumford.

With the rise of industrialism came the "slum, semi-slum, and super-slum," and filth that was unbelievable in the worst hovels of the middle ages.

In his criticism of past and present city planning the author succintly summarizes the Megalopolis of today as, "apoplexy at the center and paralysis at the extremities." He believes that the "bigger the crowd the emptier their function." Decentralization of groups of 50,000 into 25 groups of 2,000 each would make for more sensible activity on the part of the individual, whom, he feels, in a large community does not have the responsibility which is the part of a small group; the larger grouping making for the mob which dictators love to wield. Ralph Borsodi, in his "This Ugly Civilization," and his "Flight From The City," has dealt in detail with, not only decentralized population, but with the value of the gasoline engine and electric motor as being more adaptable to diversified production. Mumford gives this subject a thorough fitting into his scheme of decentralized living. An interesting comment to the effect that, "the more shaky the institution the more solid the monument" throws a side light on the palace being erected by Stalin which is the largest in the world."

In architecture itself the author describes the baroque style of architecture and of life as, "the deformation of life in the interests of an external pattern of order." He draws the contrast between the new buildings of the Washington bureaucracy with their, "grotesque waste of money on tedious stone columns that further diminish light and air." and the roadway on top of Norris Dam where, "the use of elemental geometric forms, the slim metal column and the glass lighting globe reflects the spirit of the rest of the construction: no false monumentalism, no spurious allusions to other esthetic orders or other cultures." He quotes William Morris to the effect that, "have nothing in your house that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful." He feels, with Frank Lloyd Wright, the Wisconsin builder and the well known exponent of extreme decentralization, that in building homes the aim should always be to have more light. He points to Wright's emphasis upon "the increased size of the window bank. By altering the layout of the house and keeping it low . . . he introduced the garden almost into the heart of the living room." Rather than the cluttered baggage in he average home the ideal is, "the blank wall, the unlittered floor, nothing for show and nothing that cannot be shown."

In the society of the future Mumford would do away with political divisions as such; with a "Townless Highway and the Highwayless Town"; with the "poly-nucleated city in which a cluster of communities, adequately spaced and bounded, shall do duty for the badly organized mass city. Twenty such cities would have all the benefits of a metropolis . . . without its ponderous disabilities." In this regional rather than political division the author feels that the service state is necessary to coordinate the different communities. He realizes that the political and militaristic state is a curse. The problem which the anarchist as well as any planner for the future encounters is how to get rid of the political state without putting a bureaucracy in its place. The anarchist communes in many of the small towns in Loyalist Spain which flourished until Franco or the Communist bureaucracy in control of the army and to a great extent of the government, had time to regiment and cripple them. When governments fight, cooperation flies out of the door.

The masses who today vote for Roosevelt, Chamberlain, or the policies of Townsend or any person who will promise them the most, are not being educated to think. They cannot therefore be depended upon to act with any more wisdom after a "war for democracy" than they do now. Perhaps, when the time has come to build a new civilization on the ruins of this one, books such as those mentioned in this review will help those who have learned the evils of centralization, militarism and politics, to build anew. Mumford defines the region as, "the unit area formed by common aboriginal conditions of geologic structure, soil, surface relief, drainage, climate, vegetation and animal life; reformed and partly redefined through the settlement of man."

Summarizing the centers of each age the author places the school as the center of the future social unit. In the medieval age the church was the center, in the baroque city, the palace; in the industrial age, the factory; and today it is the business and the market that occupies the central plan of the city. In this new society the school as well as all of life will be organic rather than formal. In the words of the author:

"From the drill school to the organic school . . . from a desiccated environment to a living environment: from closed issues and mechanical indoctrination to open inquiry and cooperative discipline as a normal process of living."

Ammon A. HENNACY

ART AND LITERATURE

TORTURE

The clock has struck.... It is time to retire for the night's sleep.

You make the necessary preparations; you turn out the light, crawl under the warm quilt, and you are ready to release the weary limbs into the welcome arms of an awaiting rest.

All is quiet in the thick stillness of the night. Your acheing limbs crave that sweet relaxation, the eye-lids begin to close and the mind is soothingly appeased by the anticipation of a pleasant dream.

Boom!.... Boom!.... Boom!....

What happened?

The roaring of a thousand cannons suddenly breaks through the nightly silence, causing you to imagine that you are being carried away a thousand leagues beyond space. You then pull the covers more tightly over your head and try to dispel the effects of this terrible shock.

What now? You are in Barcelona?....

So it seems....

A frightful sight now appears before your mental vision: You see bearded Moors, Italian and Spanish fascists, dressed in soldier's uniform and marching with fixed bayonets into the beautiful city of Barcelona, driving before them, like a herd of cattle is driven on a farm ranch, a frightened mass of bewildered human beings. As the terrified mob is fleeing in wild disorder, several detachments of soldiers suddenly leave their rank formations and charge the fleeing mob with their bayonets, mowing them down like weeds in a deserted field. The screaming and moaning of bleeding humans is carried through the air like the stormy winds of a breaking cyclone, making the heavens weep... It is a sight that cuts deep into your limbs and makes the heart palpitate with remorse.

You roll over on the other side.... You want to repel the dreadful thought so as to quiet your nerves and secure that peaceful sleep.... Alas they refuse to leave your tortured mind. Like a thousand eagles they swarm upon you, driving their sharp beaks into your flesh, pecking.... pecking..., pecking,

You think up a scheme: maybe if you could divert your thoughts to some funny jokes that you've heard over the radio. Not a bad idea.... How does it go? Oh, yes: "Say Johnny, what does an elephant have that we can't have? Baby elephants." Ha, ha, ha! Hoo, hoo, hoo!...

What's this? Are those excruciating visions coming on again? Yes, indeed. Slowly, as though appearing from behind a black veil, they are creeping up on the tortured mind, presenting another of those gruesome scenes.... This time the setting is not staged on the streets of Barcelona but somewhere in an isolated cell in Saragossa, Malaga or Madrid. There, in a dark slimy dungeon, lay outstretched long rows of Spaniards, whom Franco's tribunal condemned as political agitators; they are chained to each other on the vermine-infested floor and await the hour of execution. A tramping of soldiers' feet stirs them from the deadly silence.... With a frightful look in their bulging eyes, they glance at the massive door which slowly opens, admitting a squadron of soldiers armed with machine guns. At a given command they cover each row of prisoners, cutting them down in one-two-three order.

Oh, terrible night!... Oh, miserable silence!...

You are now again looking for something to alleviate the dreadful pain. You wish to dispel the mental hazards that have been robbing you of a night's rest, and you take to the old old trick of counting sheep.... You begin the count: one, two, three, 246, 785, 2,000.... Still no sleep... You roll over... then in a crouching position... then you try burying your face deep in the pillow... You roll over again, lying now flat on your back, staring silently into the thick darkness.... All to no avail... Once more you feel yourself gripped by those frightful thoughts.... You want to delude them.... With a quick jerk, you turn over on your belly and begin to think up a new remedy.... You try a lively swing tune an entertainer crooned over the radio.... Why not? they sometimes can make one forget the cruel reality of life.... Well, let's go then:—

Hold tight! Hold tight! Hold tight, hold tight, foo-ra-de-acha-saki!

Oh, wretchful thoughts. Why can they not be appeased for at least a short duration so the body might enjoy a needed rest? As though they were little imps dancing around in the darkened chamber, they frolic around your thought-provoking mind until you are again overcome and forced to witness another of those horror-bearing spectacles.... You are distressed. A cold sweat has covered your whole body. But you must bear witness....

This time you are in China.... It matters not whether it is Canton, Hankow, Nunchang... You see the plight of those suffering people. You see bombs crashing through their squalid little shelter homes, killing and maiming all who inhabit them.... You see those emaciated Chinese faces roaming in the garbage alleys and looking for a morsel of food to still their hunger. You see a prostrated mother holding in her arms a little child whose legs were torn away by a Japanese bomb. Then, suddenly, you see unveiled before your eyes, a sight whose atrocity surpasses all brutal savagery ever invented by the human beast! It is hideous to witness, but you must.... Look then and see how Japanese soldiers practice target-shooting on a naked Chinese dead body....

Well, by now you are all exhausted from nervous prostration. You have come to realize that sleep will be impossible.... You have almost resigned yourself to passing a sleepless night. In order to break the monotonous silence which has veiled the chamber all through the horrors of the night, you leave the bed and reach for a pack of cigarettes. Having lighted a cigarette, you seat yourself on the edge of the bed and watch the smoke curl up towards the ceiling. For a moment it proved somewhat of a relief and you are determined to cling to it—just as an unemployed clings to his relief card.... Fearful lest this happy relaxation be again intercepted by the dreadful thoughts that have been haunting you all night long, you deliver yourself entirely to watching the smoke curling out from your nostrils. At the same time you wander away into a new kind of phantastic meditation: You suddenly envisage Fatima.... Yes, you see that gorgeous-looking charmer doing her fan dance... What a form divine!... What carnal passion is vibrating from the slender feminine limbs!.. How rhythmically they keep hip-slinging from under the fan... you are now completely in a sort of hypnotic illusion.... Your only wish now is that some burglar should creep up and steal away the Fan....

As you are thus absorbed in the passionate scintillation, a sudden crash striking with a most deafening effect, rocks you from head to toe.... You look around in bewilderment, then follows an outburst of human shrieking that could lift the dead from their graves.... You follow the mad ravings that increase momently into a heart-rending screaming of suffering human beings. An intuitive feeling comes over you that you are about to witness a repetition of those bloody spectacles.... Yes indeed..., There it is.... You see bloodsoaked men, women and little tots running... falling... shrieking... legs fall on one side... arms on another... heads become split... faces distorted... bellies ripped open... A mass of humanity butchered into separate chunks of human flesh....

No! No! You can't bear it! You mustn't! By all the Gods who made heaven and earth they shall lead you forth from this den of horrors. Let them carry you away unto another world.... It may be where the leopards, the crocodiles, the Ingagis dwell.... Ah! There! The Gods have wished you well.... Now you see a Bearded Lady.... Now you see a Half-Donkey and Half-Giraffe.... Now you see a Two-Headed Gorilla that snorts like a man.... Now you see a Fat Woman manicuring her fingernails.... Now you see a Half-Man with a long tail bowing himself like a Duke....

Even as you are in the lands of freaks you cannot escape the sudden outburst of human shrieking that has crashed upon you. Perforce you follow the mad ravings that increase momentarily.... you realize it was another of those "spectacular" air raids.... So sudden is the shock that came over you that for the moment you can't make up your mind whether the frightful scene took place in Madrid... or Canton... or Albania... or any other inhabited city.... But then you decide the locality really doesn't matter.... You are only overtaken by one single thought now: to escape from the terrible ordeal that has been tormenting you all night long.

What now? Well, you leave the bed and go to the window.... The outside view might have a soothing effect on your tortured mind.... You look out and your eyes fall on the dimming lamplight standing across the street. Immediately you vision the dangling body of a lynched negro.... In the dim gas light you see thousands of innocent human victims being exterminated by poison gases....

You turn quickly from the lamp-post and look up the skies.... They are overcast..., Tiny drops are beginning to drizzle from the clouds.... You see a Slovack people standing dejectedly and weeping... weeping... weeping.... You see a Jewish race wandering about like deserted cattle and weeping... weeping... you see thousands of human beings being driven into concentration camps and weeping... weeping... weeping.... You see Franco, the murderer of little children, hailed as victorious conqueror, mothers standing with bowed heads and weeping... weeping... weeping.... You see the whole world turning in a mad whirl, weeping... weeping... weeping....

Grey morning pierced through the misty skies. The clouds are still pouring down their little raindrops which keep a rythmic drumming on the window pane. Your heart is filled with remorse. Your mind is perplexed with the dread of a passing nightmare. With drawn face and aching body because of a sleepless night, you don your morning attire and drag yourself to the breakfast table. Having now before you the fresh rolls and coffee, you make the first start immediately there flashes through your mind a dramatic presentation you have witnessed, called "Idiot's Delight".....

You finally conclude that we are living in a idiot's paradise anyway, and you reach for an extra piece of butter on your roll....

Samuel POLINOW

ERNST TOLLER

(See editorial on Ernst Toller on Page Eight.)

From The Imprisoned

Nights of mine, you good sisters of the imprisoned,
The stillness becomes filled with your trembling sounds.
Lying on the hard bench I listen attentively—
I hear your heart-throbs, brothers, you
From here and there . . . from there and here . . .
Imprisoned in the jails of all continents,
In Atlanta and in Memphis, in Calumet and Barcelona, in Calcutta and in Maryland—
You, brothers, we in the struggle and rebellion, in strikes and revolts—
Accept my greeting, you brothers, we.

They wish to forbid you the world and the world is your wishing!

And to you my greeting:
You brothers in the prisons of Africa and Asia,
In the jails of Australia:
You dark, yellow, brown protectors of your own piece of land,
That is devoured and oppressed by Europe's tender fist.
To you my tender greeting, you brothers in the jails,
In the prisons of the whole world.
To you,
Who in your homes' dire need brought you up,
Whom in your own house the longing has broken down,
And who from sleep have drawn forgetfulness—
You, who were made thieves, robbers, sluggers, murderers
Made—made!
You, who are brothers of mine by the same fate—accept my greeting.

I listen and I think:
Who could say about himself that he isn't imprisoned—
Though no jail has forestalled his heaven,
And no building has robbed him of earth?
And I hear your heart-throbs, brothers, you
From here and there . . . from there and here . . .
Oh, would that I could hear
With the eternal great love of a dreamed-about God—
The heart I would hear—
The united great heart
Of both human sexes,
Of all stars, all animals,
Of fields, flowers and stones—
The throbbing of the great heart
Of everything, everything
That lives.

Ernst TOLLER (1893—1939)

(English version by Marcus Graham, in "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry.")

The threatened culture can only be defeated if those who were fortunate enough to escape slavery, devote themselves faithfully to their language.... fight barbarism wherever it threatens.—Ernst TOLLER.

Progress

When I look at the sun I see
Nakedness and misery.
When I look at the moon I find
Hunger and a vacant mind.
When I walk out in a field alone
There is only tortured stone.
Or the ghost of a murdered wood
Haunting graves where beauty stood.

* * *

Now that man has sucked life's breath
Let him try his hand with death.

Gilean DOUGLAS

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

"Royal" Guests

The visit of the King and Queen of Great Britain and its Dominions to the United States affords us the opportunity to think and to ask ourselves a few questions. What is the real purpose behind their visit? Why have they chosen to visit this land at a time when the world is going through a period of war hysteria? Are we to believe that their royal highness are so kind and gracious as to want to leave their homeland just for the sake of fostering a really close bond of friendship between the United States and Great Britain? Or did they decide that they wanted to see the World Fairs on the East and West coasts of this country?

We doubt that these are the reasons for their coming. It seems to us that the one purpose behind this visit and its stream of festivities is to strengthen and reaffirm the commercial, military and imperial interests of both this country and Great Britain. We must say, however, that the exact psychological moment was chosen for the visit of the king and queen. After the clownish tactics and behavior of Chamberlain, it was a wise move on the part of the British government to send their king and queen here as ambassadors of friendship and good will, as messengers of the people of Great Britain to the people of the United States. But the king and queen do not represent the people of England. And they do not represent the downtrodden and exploited people of India. Their visit with President Roosevelt, who likewise does not represent the real people of this country, is a rendezvous between the figureheads and tyrants of two great countries.

The King and Queen of Great Britain and its Dominions have come to this country as ambassadors of death.

* * *

The return of Colonel Lindbergh, known as the royal prince in the field of aviation, must also be termed as the mission of an ambassador of commerce and death. More than that, it reveals that Lindbergh has come back to his country as a spy working in behalf of the capitalist system.

Lindbergh's father, who so sincerely opposed the tactics of the late President Wilson who dragged this country into the last world massacre, would indeed blush with shame were he alive and could he see his son serving the very masters of commercial plunder and death whom he opposed. But he is dead, and his shades may rest in peace, for the deeds of his son have received the sanction of the commercial masters and the blessings of religious rulers.

Ernst Toller

The suicide of 46-year-old Ernst Toller three weeks ago (May 22) carries with it a deep and great significance. It means more than a loss to the world of literature and to the revolutionary movement.

Upon learning of Toller's suicide, Dr. George—a close friend of the deceased—said, "Toller . . . . translated the defeat of the Spanish loyalists and the plight of the German liberals into personal terms."

This comment is clear in itself. Yet, it does not give a vivid portrayal of the real Ernst Toller. Only those who had occasion to meet and speak with him personally know and understand the real man. This writer met him in 1937, and Toller seemed to be twenty years older than he actually was. No doubt, this was the result of the moral suffering which he underwent during the last years of his life.

Ernst Toller was not the ivory tower type of intellectual. One might truthfully say of him that it was the very struggles of the masses for social emancipation that inspired him to write. Those struggles gave birth to his immortal "Man and the Masses." His long imprisonment (almost one third of his life) stimulated him into writing his second immortal piece of literature—"Song of the Swallows."

As an active participant in every revolutionary upheaval during his lifetime, Toller witnessed the death of two of his close literary and revolutionary colleagues and comrades. They were Gustav Landauer and Erich Meusham. Neither man died a natural death; both of them were tortured to death by their jailers. They, like Ernst Toller, were revolutionists—with political beliefs different from those of Toller —and were of Jewish descent. For this they were made to die at the hands of the mad rulers of their country.

The ordeals which Toller had to undergo during his imprisonment in his homeland—Germany—finally drove him to escape from jail and from the country. Thereupon, he began the life of a refugee in various parts of Europe and finally in this country.

At one time, Toller was most active in the communist movement. The actions of its leading spokesmen, however, greatly disillusioned Toller, and he lost whatever faith he might have held for that ideal and movement. However, he never lost faith in the struggles of the masses. The struggle of the people of Spain against all the cunning maneuvers of the democratic, fascist and bolshevik rulers served to inspire Toller into renewed activity. And just at the time when his plan for sending tons of foodstuffs to Spain materialized, the loyalist leaders betrayed the very struggle of the people of Spain by fleeing from the country. Thus, a deep and painful moral wound was inflicted on Ernst Toller, the revolutionist.

I am almost certain that Toller never held any great faith in the so-called democracies. We might say, in fact that it was this very lack of faith which made him feel as a stranger in any and every land to which he went for asylum.

I believe that Toller would not have wanted his true friends to mourn his death or to pay tribute to him through the mere issuance of his works. I am certain he would have wanted his true friends to be a vital part of the struggles of the masses, just as he was a vital part of them.

The illustrious literary and revolutionary career of Ernst Toller should arouse the conscience of the whole thinking world against any and every form of tyranny and oppression of man over man. Toller's suicide is the outcry of the conscience of mankind. As such, it is calling mankind in its struggle for freedom. The disastrous end of one great thinker should serve as a beacon for and an inspiration to all thinkers so that the struggle which was Ernst Toller's will not have been in vain.

"Clever Gadgets" for the Needy

The Federal Commodities Surplus Corporation has been engaging in the business of buying up foods and other products in order to keep up "market prices" and at the same time distribute the "surplus products" to the needy.

The very name of this corporation is a misnomer. It should be called deprivation rather than a surplus corporation. That this organization of the "new deal" administration is not in the least interested in distributing its stored products to the needy is clearly revealed by what is taking place at Rochester, N. Y. A new scheme, concocted by this corporation, is being tried as another experiment of the present administration. Every person on relief or WPA is allowed to buy orange stamps, good for any food at any grocery. For doing so, the purchaser gets a 50 per cent bonus in blue stamps, good only for those commodities in which there is a surplus.

According to the N. Y. Post of May 15 of this year, the "Retailer hails stamps as big boon to stores." The same issue of the Post quotes a retailer as saying, "This means that the government is going out of the food business . . . the people who pay taxes are going to be given a chance to make a profit."

In the issue of May 18 of the N. Y. Post, a pro-Roosevelt newspaper, the following editorial comments are made:

> "This scheme is a clever gadget. It is only that. It is one in a long line of clever gadgets which have done a little good here, a little good there, without attacking the basic problem of creating enough jobs . . . so as to make the very idea of a commodity "surplus" an impossibility."

We hope that the Post will not object to our expressing the belief that its plan of "creating enough jobs" is no more the basic problem of the present chaotic state of privation in this present capitalist system than are the "gadgets" of the administration which it upholds and supports.

The utter bankruptcy of the present administration is again revealed by Mr. Jay Franklin, another pro-Roosevelt journalist of the same newspaper. In the issue of May 20 of the Post, Mr. Franklin presents a long list of corporations in every basic industry in order to show—as he entitles his column—that "figures prove Tories doing better in 1939 than under Hoover . . ." Commenting on the figures he states that ". . . the whole case for the New Deal's business policy can be summarized by saying that in the sixth year of Roosevelt, business is about 50 per cent better than in the third year of Hoover."

We would have been indebted to Mr. Franklin had he been kind enough to give us the exact figures showing how the employed and unemployed alike have shared in this increase in the "abundant life."

The apologists of the New Deal administration know too well that none of Mr. Roosevelt's "gadgets" has attempted to really solve the deplorable condition of human exploitation upon which the present system is founded. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor any of his mouthpieces has any desire whatever to change these conditions. In fact, has not Mr. Roosevelt assured us often enough that he is a staunch defender of the present system of capitalism?

The President and the apologists of this "liberalized and humane" order of things know that these basic problems can only be solved by the needy, the employed, unemployed —by the people themselves. They know, too, that the solution cannot be reached until and unless the people first realize the need of permanently eradicating the present system whose roots prey upon the anti-social principle of profit for a few from the toil of the multitudes. Only when this will have been accomplished, will the people see themselv s as members of an harmonious commonwealth wherein abound plentifulness, contentment and peace.

A Fantasy

This is a sensational story which merits front page publicity in the daily newspapers. It is the tragic story of a dream that was contemplated and developed in the minds of a group of well-meaning people.

The idea of the dream was to have a "Freedom Pavilion" which would adorn the New York World's Fair, a pavilion depicting the two faces of Germany—the face of the cultural Germany of yesterday and the distorted face of the anti-cultural nazi-ridden Germany of today.

This idea was tenderly nursed by the dreamers, for fear lest their plan might never see the light of day. They set out to obtain the support of all the "respectable elements" they were able to reach. Their temporary committee included Hamilton Fish, Nicholas Murray Butler, Baron and Baroness Dahlerup, Marshall Field, Harry F. Gugenheim, Fiorello H. La Guardia, Henry P. Luce, Henry Morgenthau, Alfred F. Smith, Mathew Wall, Owen D. Young and Herbert Bayard Swope.

Elated over so spectacular an array of "respectability," the dreamers went on and easily obtained—on June 24, 1938 —a written approval of their project from Secretary of State Hull. On September 12 of last year, an approval was granted them by the N. Y. World's Fair Corporation.

But this smoothness did not go on for long. H. B.Swope, chairman of the committee, began to raise objections. He did not like the drawing that was to depict the keynote of the "Freedom Pavilion"; he objected to the drawing of the two faces as interpreted by the dreamers. After much pleading on the part of the inspired dreamers, Mr. Swope promised that everything would be settled at a cocktail party he had arranged for the purpose of raising funds for this enterprise. And the dreamers hoped—and, perhaps, prayed.

Came the evening of the party. A few of the invited guests spoke in favor of carrying out the project. Then Mr. Swope pulled out a rabbit from his hat. He called upon Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's church in N. Y. And the "holy father" spoke thus:

> "I do not think I would care to vote for anything that would be likely to provoke trouble or get us into war."

Then Mr. Swope boldly commented: "I think that we are glad to have had that opinion expressed."

What followed this pre-arranged knifing of the plan can be guessed. The "Freedom Pavilion" project was killed then and there.

Poor naive and deceived dreamers.

It is almost impossible for us to conceive of the erection of a "Freedom Pavilion" in a country where the very word freedom has long ceased to have any meaning save that of serving the politician and the preacher.

But the believers in true freedom can again rejoice over the treacherous and perfidious trick played by Mr. Swope and his accomplice who is an emissary of the Roman papacy. The tricksters have exposed themselves as the enemies of true freedom and as open agents of the black reactionary forces which are ravaging mankind.

Had the "Freedom Pavilion" become a reality, many a naive person would have been misled into believing that a country which allows the evils of nazi Germany to be exposed is indeed a free and happy country. And we know this would be a misconception, a false and mistaken belief.

The complete exposure upon which this editorial is based can be found in the "Nation" of April 29, 1939. It was written by Laura Z. Hobson, a member of the "Freedom Pavilion" committee.

Marcus GRAHAM.

* * *

Not to act in accordance with that which we believe to be the best is to be like the one who can neither laugh when he is joyful, nor weep when he is sad: in short, can neither outwardly express nor translate anything of that which he feels. That would be supreme torture.

J. M. GUYAU

Author of "DEAD NIGGER"—Matt Slay

In the make-up of the pages of the May issue, the name of the author of "Dead Nigger" fell out. We deeply regret this. The author of the dramatic sketch is our collaborator Matt Slay. The sketch was based upon an actual ocurrence. He wrote-up the story for the "Nation" and afterwards crceated the dramatic sketch that we printed.—EDITOR.

Financial Statement

Income from Groups:

Los Angeles Group:—$19.00; Circolo Libertario, Rochester:—$5.00; Sacramento (List G. G., C. S. & a Friend):—$3.00; E. Michaels, England (newspaper sales):—$2.80;; List through U. Malfato:—$2.00; Allentown Group:—$1.00.

Income from Indiyiduals:

E. Barabino, $5.00; H. Norantonia, $3.75; Joe Piacentino, $3.00; Two Dollars: Monroe Bartlett, John Piacentino, Paul Ravnenko; J. W. Fleming (Australia), $2.20; F. Wertgen, $1.50; Juliet Woodville, $1.25; One Dollar: Wells L. Baker, Robert Hess, Julius Shaefer, San Francisco Employers Council, L. Battaglio, Jules Scarceriaux, A. Bruzio, J. Spivak, John Tatty, Frank Retta, Fania Kruger, Peter Pucci; John F. Stark, .60; Fifty Cents: Louis Sam, Buche Brooks, R. L. Millard; J. C. Crews, .25c.

TOTAL INCOME	$69.85
Expenditures	$105.33
Previous deficit	$1.83
Total Deficit	$37.31

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A rising deficit endangers the regular appearance of MAN! A renewal of your subscription and remembering of our needs at affairs held by Groups can easily remedy this.

Picnic for MAN! and L'ADUNATA

The newly formed Duval Youth Group of Brooklyn, N. Y., has arranged a grand picnic for the benefit of MAN! and L'ADUNATA. It will be held on Sunday August 20, 1939 at Brandt's Farm.

Every reader of the two publications will have an opportunity of assisting in making the affair a gala success—by purchasing tickets—regardless as to whether they will be able to be present in person or not. And the Group counts upon the solidarity of every reader to do so.

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